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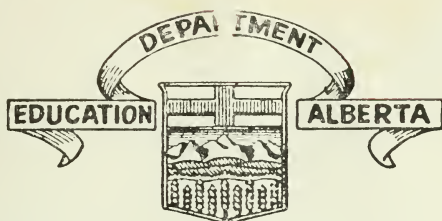
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CLASSROOM BULLETIN

ON

SOCIAL STUDIES

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**This Bulletin has been specially prepared for the use of teachers of
Social Studies, offering information re textbooks,
reference books and procedures.**

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PLEASE NOTE

"The Classroom Bulletin on Social Studies," which is published at frequent intervals, aims to assist teachers and students, particularly those who have not access to adequate library facilities. **It is hoped that teachers will make full use of the possibilities offered by the Bulletin. They may do so by submitting suggestions for future issues regarding topics or procedures which, in their opinion, should have a place in this publication.** Ideally, the Bulletin should function as the clearing house for all materials and ideas that will serve to make social studies in the high school more meaningful and vital.

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FROM V-J DAY TO THE END OF 1945—138 DAYS OF "PEACE"

(Current Events, Social Studies 1, 2 and 3)

Our last review of world affairs surveyed the events marking the rapid collapse of the Axis powers in 1945—the 125 tremendous days “that made even the biggest type in newspaper composing rooms seem inadequate.” But the days since last August 15th—V-J Day—are no less important, though they may seem less spectacular. In brief, they give us a vivid idea of the painful difficulties lying ahead in the solution of our international post-war problems.

Looking back over the 138 days from V-J Day to the end of 1945, we find that the following dates of this first phase of the post-war world stand out:

August 16—Russia and Poland signed a border treaty in which some territorial concessions were made to the latter.

August 21—The United States ended lend-lease.

August 27—The first United States soldiers landed in Japan.

September 2—The Japanese signed formal surrender in Tokyo Bay.

September 24—Indo-China Annamites revolted against French rule.

October 2—The Big Five foreign ministers' meeting ended in failure.

October 8—The Palestine Jews staged a five-hour general strike.

October 13—The Indonesians staged an uprising in Java.

October 19—The Canadian House of Commons ratified the United Nations' Charter.

November 11—The R.A.F. attacked Indonesians at Soerabaja.

November 15—Truman, Attlee and King announced their proposal that the UNO devise atomic energy controls.

November 20—The trial of twenty leading Nazis started at Nuernberg.

November 27—General George C. Marshall appointed United States Ambassador to China upon his retirement as Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

December 2—So-called “rebel democrats” seized Azerbaijan in Iran.

December 6—Anglo-American loan agreement announced.

December 15—The United States is chosen as the permanent home of the UNO.

December 19—The British House of Commons passed a bill for the nationalization of the Bank of England.

December 22—Britain and the United States recognized Tito's Yugoslavian government.

December 27—Big Three foreign ministers' conference came to a successful conclusion in Moscow. Canada and twenty-seven other nations signed the Bretton Woods monetary agreement.

December 31—The Chinese central government countered a Communist plan for a truce by proposing to bring General George C. Marshall into discussions for a cessation of hostilities and by asking the Communists to join a government which would unify China.

From the above summary it is readily seen that the big issues which have stirred the world since V-J Day are:

- (1) The atomic bomb;
- (2) Anglo-Russian-American post-war co-operation which in turn involves these questions:
 - (a) control of atomic energy;
 - (b) Russian intentions in the Middle East and the Balkans;
 - (c) Allied control of Japan;
 - (d) Relations with China and the questions of Korea and Manchuria;
 - (e) Occupation policy in Germany.
- (3) Preparations for the UNO.
- (4) The Palestine dispute.
- (5) The Indonesian revolt.
- (6) The Chinese civil war.
- (7) The trial and punishment of war criminals.
- (8) Domestic policy of the British Labour Government.
- (9) Industrial unrest, particularly in the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Australia.

THE ATOMIC BOMB

Without involving ourselves in the very difficult details of the scientific development of the atomic bomb, it is sufficient to examine the consequences of this new warfare. "It would," as Max Werner in "Maclean's Magazine" for last October first points out, "change completely the basic picture of war, the very principles of strategy. The great battles of World War II: the Battle of Flanders, the Battle of Stalingrad, the Battle of the Ruhr, the Battle of Berlin were still fought on the pattern of the Battle of Cannae, which was won by Hannibal against the Roman legions in 216 B.C.

"From the Battle of Cannae, to the Ruhr, Berlin and Okinawa, wars were waged by fighting forces. Army met army, and decision was reached in battle. The strategic and operational task was the same from Hannibal and Scipio to Eisenhower and Zhukov: to encircle and destroy the living force of the enemy. Manoeuvre and break-through on the battlefield were the main methods. These methods were perfected. What we called modern war was a German, Russian, British and American creation of 1935-45. German strategy worked out the operational design of offensive battle,

of offensive co-operation of weapons. Soviet strategy developed the pattern of modern land war on a more solid and stable basis than did the German. British and American strategy enlarged modern war into three-dimensional war—on sea, on land, and in the air—with almost incredibly gigantic amphibious operations.

“The atomic bomb can outstrip the latest achievements of modern strategy. It can supersede the entire pre-atomic strategy with a new and basically different kind of war.

“Pure atomic war will be developed along the following lines: atomic weapons with their range extended by rockets and made more precise by perfected Radar hit with lightning speed in the literal sense of the word, not figuratively like the German ‘blitz.’ They do not hit the fighting forces of the enemy, but his centres and vital material sources. The enemy is hit and destroyed, not by fighting forces, but by controlled energy, by super-weapons with a global range. The fight, the battle, is abolished. Army does not meet army, war becomes impersonal, waged without soldiers and beyond soldierly virtues. Manoeuvre is carried out not by armies but by trajectory of long-range missiles loaded with atomic energy.”

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why intense anxiety was felt in all countries at the awful prospect before humanity, if war between the Great Powers should break out again. Any relief that came with the sudden closing of the war and the bloodless occupation of the Japanese home islands was replaced by the realization that the world might at will destroy itself. This international tension rapidly mounted to an indescribable peak when the meeting of the Big Five foreign ministers in London ended in dismal failure.

To make matters worse, Foreign Commissar Molotov declared early in November on the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution that the loosing of atomic energy “should not encourage either a propensity to exploit the discovery in the play of forces in international policy or an attitude of complacency as regards the future of the peace-loving nations. . . . It is not possible at the present time for a technical secret of any great size to remain the exclusive possession of some one country or some narrow circle of countries. . . . We (Russia) will have atomic energy and many other things too.” At the same time he linked this challenge with a warning against anti-Soviet blocs in the West.

To put an end to all anxiety as to what is to be done with the atomic bomb, Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain and Prime Minister King of Canada conferred in Washington with President Truman for five days. On November 15th, it was announced that the Truman-Attlee-King proposals were:

- (1) The secrets of manufacturing the atomic bomb to be

kept by America, Britain and Canada until adequate controls over atomic energy are set up;

(2) A special commission of the United Nations Organization to establish these controls, outlaw the bomb as a weapon, and insure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. This commission would have the right of inspection in all countries to guard against violations of the agreement.

In a speech after the announcement of this "tri-power" plan, Mr. Byrnes, the American Secretary of State, claimed that the government of the United States had never considered using the atomic bomb for political purposes. He stated further that the period of secrecy as to how the bomb was manufactured need not be "unnecessarily prolonged" and that the proposed control commission of the UNO could be functioning in two months.

On December 27th, it was announced that in the eleven-day meeting of the Big Three foreign ministers in Moscow, Russia had agreed to join Great Britain and the United States in sponsoring a resolution in the United Nations which would establish a control commission responsible to the powerful eleven-member security council. This atomic commission would, it was stated, consist of representatives from the eleven countries holding council seats and Canada who shares atomic energy secrets. The commission would, furthermore, work toward the exact goals outlined on November 15th by Prime Ministers Attlee and King and President Truman.

Thus the touchy question of the atomic bomb has been disposed of for the present. But it will undoubtedly be the biggest single problem for the United Nations to solve in 1946.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION

In this aspect of international affairs since V-J Day no one will question the statement that the main problem has been Russian foreign policy. For Canadians, Russia's relations with the other great powers are of no small importance as Canada in the new air age finds herself central among the land masses of the globe and wedged in between two of the great powers, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Of all the great powers, only one, the United States is nearer in miles than the U.S.S.R. Even Great Britain is farther away.

As Vilhjalmur Stefansson points out, "Canadians are often told that they are a link between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. It is equally true that they are a link between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.; perhaps more true, for nothing is truer than the fact that the earth is a sphere and that, for good or ill, peace or war, there are few airways between these two great powers that do not pass through Canada. Canada's knowledge of the United States is intimate, sympathies are

warm, relations are close. Canada has every reason of self interest and world interest to strive for similar relations with the Soviet Union."

Yet in any consideration of Russian foreign policy several other geographic fundamentals must be kept in mind. The U.S.S.R. is the second largest empire and the biggest continuous country in the world. Its territories comprise, according to Soviet authorities, one-sixth of the existing land. Regardless of fractions, the Soviet territories measure something over 6,000 miles from east to west, and nearly 3,000 miles from north to south. Statistically, this colossus seems overwhelming and would actually be so, were it not that many of its territories are unfit for habitation. Nevertheless, according to Haushofer, the geopolitical strategist of the Nazis, the great "Heartland of Eurasia" is the land pivot of the world. Therefore, in the Axis scheme Russia as a political entity was slated to disappear. The Germans and Japanese, Haushofer claimed, must conquer and divide this strategic centre before they could safely set out to loot what he called the "peripheral continents" of the Western Hemisphere.

But, in spite of all this great land mass, it is a considerable strain on words to classify Russia as a two-ocean power. Their one real ocean is the Arctic, most of which is frozen tight for several months of the year. Soviet outlets on the Pacific are real enough, except that Vladivostok lies at the end of a long tongue of land stretching right around alien Manchuria, is badly threatened by Japan and closed in winter; while Komsomolsk is situated miles up a frigid stream. Petropavlovsk, near the southern tip of the Kamchatka peninsula, is out in the fogs nearly a thousand miles from anywhere, in an almost totally uninhabited country and completely inaccessible by land. All of this makes it difficult for Russia to develop sea power in the Pacific. In the light of these facts it readily becomes clear why Russia since V-J Day has carefully established a sphere of influence in both Manchuria and Korea and has demanded a share in the Allied control of Japan. If the U.S.S.R. were able to obtain leases for naval bases in any or all of these areas, in addition to Port Arthur and Darien which China has already opened to her, Russia would be in an excellent position to contend for naval supremacy in the North Pacific.

Russia's naval situation in Europe is hardly better than that we have sketched in the Far East. Murmansk, most westerly of Soviet ports on the Arctic, is kept fluid by the very tip of the Gulf Stream, but Archangel, further inland, is icebound each winter. Kronstadt, on the Gulf of Finland, is an opening on an alley. To reach the wide oceans of the world, Russian sailors have to pass Finnish Helsinki and then, although Estonian Tallinn and Latvian Riga are now parts of the Soviet Union, they have only got into the Baltic, and there in normal times are dependent on the goodwill of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Great Britain.

Nor is it any different in the south-west. The Caspian is a briny lake; the Black Sea, a large bay funneling into another inland sea, the Mediterranean, whose exits are also in the hands of alien peoples. In other words, except by world federation or gigantic conquests, Russia simply cannot reach the Atlantic.

Thus until the extraordinary development of air power, Russia remained a continental country, with the advantages and disadvantages of the same. This is shown by its development; so long as history was the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe, Asia, Africa), Russia was a mighty force. When, during the nineteenth century, the centre of civilization shifted to the Atlantic, Russian inability to develop powerful war fleets and sail the seas showed itself a terrible handicap.

Consequently, it remained for the aeroplane to give back to the Russians all that unlimited seafaring had taken from them. Aviation has not only turned their territories into a key area, but it is making their own country, for the first time, entirely accessible. In fact, by its unique location and area, its land access to most of Europe and every part of Asia, Soviet Russia is the air country of the Eastern Hemisphere par excellence. The airlines of the future will span the world, following the shortest distances. Most of the world's land and inhabitants are in the northern half. The Arctic area will become a centre of air traffic. Practically all Arctic routes touch Soviet territory at one point or another.

But events since V-J Day have shown clearly that Russia is not going to depend on the aeroplane entirely—that she still permits the “sea-power” concept to dominate her foreign policy. At the London conference of the Big Five foreign ministers in September those present and the whole world were startled to learn of Russia's intention to become a Mediterranean power in her own right with at least one port *south* of the Dardanelles. Molotov specified that Russia would like to serve as sole trustee in Libya with its big port of Tripoli and in Eritrea in the Red Sea.

At the same time Russia asked that the policy in Greece be changed. British occupation, the Soviet Union claims, has pursued undemocratic ends and has forced an unpopular government on the Greek people. This claim naturally clashed with the Anglo-American opinion that Russia dominates the present governments of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. These governments, it is felt, are totalitarian and run by Communists who represent only a minority. During the London conference it was charged in reply to Russian criticism of the Greek government that opposition parties in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary are being liquidated behind “the iron curtain” of which Winston Churchill spoke in the British House of Commons. It was maintained, further, at London that Russia's unilateral action in signing a five-year pact with Hungary, which gives

it control of half that country's economy, proves the Hungarians are under the control of Moscow.

Since that time Russian demands on Turkey as published in "Pravda" in December, coupled with the strong suspicion that the rebellion in Soviet-occupied northern Iran was inspired by Russia, indicate further that the ambitions of the U.S.S.R. far surpass the lines of Czarist expansion in the Mediterranean.

In addition to the geographical aspect of Russian foreign policy as it bears on Anglo-Russian-American co-operation, there is the ideological angle. Some believe that Russia still would like to "Communize" the world, though the Comintern has recently been abolished. Others point to Stalin's emphasis on "Socialism in a single state." Wherever the truth may lie in this dispute, it is interesting to note the following comment published in the Foreign Policy Bulletin for last November 30th:

"Actually, this would be the worst possible moment at which to isolate Russia or permit Russia to withdraw into itself, as it has shown signs of doing, for at this very moment the Russians, through force of circumstances, have had to come into much closer contact with the Western world than they had done since 1917. And, at the same time, the Western world, seeing Russians at first hand, has had a better opportunity than since 1917 to appraise Russian ideas and practices by the harsh light of every-day life instead of the rosy glow of Utopian hopes. Not only in Germany and Austria, where the Russians must work directly with the Americans, British and French in Allied control councils, but also in eastern Europe and the Balkans, thousands of Russian soldiers have experienced a shock on coming into contact with peoples whose standards of living, while low compared to our own, are infinitely higher than those of Russia, especially now that its most advanced industrial areas have been devastated by the Germans. Returning soldiers bring back tales of their experiences, and their newly aroused aspirations for a fuller life may prove as explosive in the Russia of today as the new ideas brought back by the officers of Alexander I from the Napoleonic campaigns.

"But just as the Russians are learning that the rest of the world is not living, as they had been taught, exclusively like the characters of 'The Grapes of Wrath,' so Westerners are learning that Russia is not the paradise some of them had believed it to be. One reason for this is that the flower of the Russian armies perished on battlefields from Moscow to Stalingrad. The soldiers now seen in Europe often lack training and discipline. In a sense, it would have been better for the Communists if Russia's armed forces had never appeared in the flesh and if Russia had remained a myth. Now Westerners who might have been tempted to turn to communism have been disheartened to discover what they

should have known: that the Russians are still a relatively backward people, dazzled by Western civilization and often, for that reason, hostile to it; and that the political, social and economic system they developed out of their own needs and traditions, effective as it has proved in the U.S.S.R., is not applicable to the vastly different conditions of the Western world. It is significant that the countries of Europe closest to Russia geographically are the ones which have shown the strongest trend toward moderate political regimes, as in Hungary where the Small Landholders' party won nearly 60 per cent of the votes in the national elections of November 4th, and in Austria, where the moderate People's Party and the Social Democrats decisively defeated the Communists even in industrial centres in the national elections of November 25th. At the same time these elections, especially those held in Hungary, where the Russians alone are in control, offer striking evidence that the presence of Russian troops did not prevent free expression of public opinion. On the contrary, even anti-Soviet Hungarians outside the country readily concede that the elections of November 4th were the freest and most indicative of the true temper of the people to be held in Hungary since 1919. Whether or not Hungary or Austria can work out moderate political regimes in the midst of parlous economic conditions is a question the Big Three will have to answer through joint action."

MOSCOW CONFERENCE, DECEMBER, 1945

Fortunately, the year 1945 ended on a harmonious note with respect to Anglo-Russian-American co-operation. The Moscow conference, held in December, reached agreement on several important matters in addition to the atomic energy question previously mentioned. Yet many vexing problems remained unsettled and unmentioned when the conference broke up just before the beginning of the New Year. Among them are: the uprising in Soviet-occupied northern Iran; the issue of access to the Dardanelles straits; Germany's western border, and a common Big Three policy on the Franco government in Spain. The decisions that were reached at Moscow may be summed up as follows:

Japan

For control of Japan, the Big Three foreign ministers agreed to establish in Tokyo a four-power council of the United States, Russia, Britain and China and an eleven-nation Far Eastern policy-making commission in Washington, to replace the ten-member advisory commission used after V-J Day. It is very likely that the latter body will become the new policy-making commission with the addition of Russia which previously refused to participate.

The control council will meet at least every two weeks for the purpose of consulting with and advising the supreme

commander on such matters as: carrying out the surrender terms; occupation and control problems, and the directives for solving them. Only if a council member disagrees with General MacArthur, who has been the administrator of policy in Japan, on "questions concerning a change in the regime of control, fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure, and a change in the Japanese government as a whole," is the commander required to hold up his orders until the larger commission reaches agreement on the matter.

In brief, the communique issued by the Moscow conference assigned the eleven-power commission authority to:

- (1) Draft policies to speed Japanese compliance with surrender terms;
- (2) Review, on the request of any member, any directive issued to General MacArthur or any action taken by him "involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction of the commission."
- (3) Consider other matters assigned to it by agreement of the member governments.

Veto power given the United States, Russia, Great Britain and China would enable each to block any attempt to change any directives which have gone out to General MacArthur since the occupation began.

China

The foreign ministers agreed on the need for "a unified and democratic China" under President Chiang Kai-Shek's national government. They said, moreover, that there should be a "broad participation by democratic elements" in the government and a complete end to civil strife. Molotov and Byrnes agreed that Russian and American troops should be withdrawn "at the earliest practicable moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations and responsibilities" under the Japanese surrender.

Korea

A provisional democratic government will be established under the guidance of a Russian-American commission. A four-power trusteeship will be set up to function "up to five years," when independence presumably may be granted. It was agreed, further, that representatives of the United States and Soviet commands will confer two weeks after the conclusion of the Moscow conference to establish co-ordinated administration. Formerly, this has been impossible with the country divided rigidly into two occupation zones.

Rumania

Russia will now join Great Britain and the United States in giving King Michael the advice he asked last August 21st on how to broaden his government in order that it might win

recognition by London and Washington. At that time Russia demurred on the contention that Great Britain and the United States had inspired Michael's request.

The three powers will, therefore, now immediately send a commission to Bucharest to consult with the king. They will ask him: to include representatives of two parties not represented in his government at the present moment; to guarantee the basic freedoms of press, speech, religion and association; and to hold democratic elections. When all this has been done, the United States and Great Britain will recognize the Rumanian government already sanctioned by Russia.

Bulgaria

Russia will ask Bulgaria to bring two representatives of democratic groups into the provisional government dominated by the Fatherland Front. Once this is completed, the United States and Great Britain will grant recognition as Russia has already done.

Peace Treaties

The three powers will proceed with plans for concluding peace settlements with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

It need hardly be added that one of the most interesting aspects of international affairs in 1946 will be the carrying out of all the above agreements. But it will be much more interesting to see what will be done about the subjects not mentioned in the official communique of the Moscow Conference.

OCCUPATION POLICY IN GERMANY

Much controversial material concerning Allied military rule in Germany has appeared in the press during recent months. Although many of the serious charges made cannot as yet be fully substantiated, it would appear, as the Foreign Policy Report (Foreign Policy Association) for last November 1st points out, that, "Six months after V-E Day . . . the Allies find themselves confronted in occupied Germany by a number of unsolved problems which fall under three main heads. In the first place, there are several inconsistencies among the various Potsdam plans for Germany that have made it difficult to carry out certain provisions of the settlement at any particular moment without interfering with the execution of other prescribed forms. The drastic territorial revisions in Germany's eastern frontiers have been accompanied by measures for industrial disarmament and wholesale reparations that are making it all the more difficult for Germany to support its population, particularly since Germans in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as in the areas ceded to Poland and Russia, are being deported to the

Reich. At the same time, however, the Allies maintain that they do not want these measures to interfere with the maintenance in Germany of a subsistence standard of living. This standard is obviously necessary . . . because of the political objectives set forth at Potsdam. . . .

"Secondly, policies in the Allied zones of occupation appear to be diverging more and more, with the result that a united policy for Germany—on which so much depends not only in Germany but also in the realm of inter-Allied relations—is being seriously compromised. Although the official Allied plan is to maintain Germany as a unit, under the supervision of the Allied Control Council in Berlin, in practice Germany is partitioned into the four segments outlined for purposes of military occupation. Between these military zones today there are distinct frontiers which are incompatible with the agreed policy of securing uniformity of treatment of the civilian population throughout Germany. Since it is French opposition to the Potsdam terms that constitutes the most important immediate obstacle to the successful operation of the central control machinery, efforts should be made to end the deadlock created by the French representative in the Allied Control Council. . . .

"Thirdly, the gravest shortcoming of Allied policy in Germany, as revealed by the record of the first six months of occupation, is that there is an absence of any concerted measures to fill the gap created by the destruction of Nazism. The Russians obviously want a Left-wing government based on a land-holding peasantry and well-disciplined trade unions, while the British and Americans—who tend to regard the institutions of the Weimar Republic as the norm for Germany—have carried out no land reforms and given no definite encouragement to the re-establishment of unions. In order to co-ordinate these divergent views on the type of post-war regime Germany should have, it is of the greatest importance that all the Allies maintain prolonged control over the Reich. . . ."

THE TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

One of the most significant events since V-J Day has been the arrest, trial and in some cases up to the end of 1945, punishment of collaborators and war criminals. The latter may be divided into three classes:

- (1) concentration camp overseers such as those who were in charge of Belsen and Dachau;
- (2) army commanders guilty of violations of the laws of war as set forth by the Hague Convention;
- (3) high government officials responsible for wars of aggression.

Although the crimes of the first two classes have been revealed as the worst the world has ever seen, it is the trial

and punishment of the last-named group which is the most important for future generations. At Nuernberg in Germany such notorious Nazi officials as Goering, Ribbentrop, Hess, von Papen, Rosenberg, Streicher, von Shirach, Funk, Schacht, Keitel, Jodl and Doenitz are on trial for having started and waged an aggressive war. To try men on such a charge as this is something entirely new in international law. After the First World War a "war guilt" clause was included in the Treaty of Versailles which officially blamed Germany *as a whole* for that conflict. But this time, war guilt is being made *personal*. If the Nazi leaders are convicted, a precedent of the greatest importance will be established. As Justice R. F. Jackson of the United States Supreme Court stated, "If we can cultivate in the world the idea that aggressive war making is the way to a prisoner's dock, rather than the way to honours, we will have accomplished something toward making peace more secure." In the opinion of some this would be far more valuable than the drawing up of the United Nations Charter.

POST-WAR DIPLOMACY

One of the aims of the Covenant of the League of Nations was to abolish the "secret diplomacy" which was an important factor in the course of international affairs during the years before the First World War. That the League was not entirely successful in this matter is common knowledge. Now that we have entered another post-war period, it is to be hoped that such diplomacy will disappear if we are ever to achieve the dream of Tennyson when he wrote:

"Till the war-drums throb'd no longer, and
the battle-flags were furl'd,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation
of the world."

However, L. S. B. Shapiro, writing in "MacLean's Magazine" for last December first, takes a view which, if correct, may seriously jeopardize the peace so recently won. We quote in part:

"Unashamed and unpurged, diplomacy has returned in exactly the same form as the world left it six years ago. It has apparently learned nothing in the six years that have elapsed since force took over its function of trying to make order in the troubled world. The face of the world has changed, and probably the mind of the world's people has altered by reason of the unprecedented strife and destruction. But, despite the physical wreckage and human tragedy which surround its chancelleries and conference rooms, diplomacy seems blithely unconscious that any change has occurred.

"If the diplomatic reporter shuts his eyes and uses only his ears he finds himself back in 1938 and 1939. He hears the same timeworn protestations of high-minded motives in public speeches and formal pronouncements, the same hopes

beautifully expressed for co-operation among nations toward a goal of security and prosperity for all. He hears the same excuses for failure to reach agreement in the same old phony terms—"We concur in principle but must refer back to our governments on certain minor points."—"Conversations were conducted in a most cordial atmosphere but the agenda was improperly prepared." And in outer lobbies of conference halls he hears the same diplomats talking off record in confession of abject failure, selfishness, stupidity, fear and lively suspicion.

"There are two distinct forms of diplomatic activity rampant in Europe. The first is surface diplomacy—the sort of things you read about in newspapers—the diplomacy of conferences, communiques, banquets, and charming photos of statesmen smiling and armlocked. The other is inside diplomacy—the sort no one talks about publicly but that every student of international affairs knows or can learn about by travelling to certain capitals and mingling in certain circles."

THE PALESTINE DISPUTE

As it has been rather wittily pointed out, "the 'Promised Land' has become the too-much-Promised Land. It was promised by the Bible to the Jews, by the Koran to the Arabs, and by the British government to both—the Jews and the Arabs." In recent months the question of Palestine's future has given rise to a series of riots and clashes in the Holy Land, Egypt and Tripolitania. Palestine is now a world problem.

The desperate plight of the surviving Jews in Europe is the main reason for the current outbreaks of violence. It is estimated that of Europe's Jewish population of 7,500,000 before the Second World War, about 5,500,000 have died at the hands of Nazi Germany. It is the question of the remainder that is causing so much concern amongst Jewish leaders. Reports would indicate many of the survivors in Europe neither wish to live there nor indeed are wanted.

Last August, it will be remembered that President Truman asked the British Government to admit what he called "100,000 stateless Jews" into Palestine. In November, Ernest Bevin, the British foreign secretary, announced that the United States and Great Britain had agreed to form a joint committee to inquire into the problem. Mr. Bevin stated further that Palestine would in time become a trustee state under the control of the United Nations Organization. Eventually, it would have self-government, although not as a Jewish state. In the meantime, Britain will maintain the present monthly quota of 1,500 immigrants. Some observers interpreted this statement as a rejection of the American request. But others, it should be noted, feel that President Truman was, in the first place, merely "passing the buck" to

Britain and dodging the obvious fact that America herself might take in homeless European Jews. Be that as it may, the Bevin statement displeased both Jewish and Arab leaders. The Jews in Palestine protested by calling a general strike.

Although it is not the function of the Social Studies Bulletin to express opinions on such current issues, it is possible to state facts that are undisputed and conceded by both sides.

Despite the fact that present-day Palestine has an area of only 10,429 square miles, it is the birthplace of three religions—Christianity, Judaism and Mohammedanism—and the gateway to three continents—Europe, Asia and Africa. Moreover, it is not only an excellent outlet for the oil of the Middle East, but a strategic site for a naval base to guard the Mediterranean.

Palestine contains some of the richest land in the world, and at the same time some of the most barren. The population consists of 1,100,000 Arabs and about 550,000 Jews, both of whom belong to the same race—the Semites.

Historically, Palestine was the home of the Jewish people from about 1400 B.C. to the destruction of the Hebrew state by Roman legions in 70 A.D. About 600 years later, the country was conquered by the Mohammedans. In 1516, it became part of the powerful Turkish Empire, where it remained until the First World War. As Turkey fought in that conflict as an ally of the Central Powers, Palestine was mandated to Great Britain at the Versailles Conference in 1919.

Legally, the Jewish claim to Palestine depends on the declaration issued on November 2nd, 1917, by Lord Balfour who was then British Foreign Secretary. This famous Balfour declaration stated that: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine . . ." In connection with this statement it is important to note that in 1896 Dr. Theodor Herzl founded a movement called Zionism which aimed at the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The Balfour declaration was approved by President Wilson and endorsed by all the Allied powers. It was also included in the terms of the League of Nations mandate placing Palestine under British control. On June 30th, 1922, a unanimous vote of both houses of the American Congress approved the Balfour declaration.

The Arabs, however, counter all these Zionist arguments by maintaining that possession is the traditional "nine-tenths of the law." Palestine is theirs, they claim, by right of conquest and of occupation; since 638 A.D. the Arabs have

constituted a decided majority of the population. But the Arabian legal claim is somewhat vague. It is based on negotiations made by Colonel T. E. Lawrence in 1915 to Sherif Hussein of Mecca in which Great Britain promised the Arabs independence if they would revolt against the Turks. The terms of this alliance were contained in letters sent to Hussein in January, 1916, by General Sir Henry McMahon. Hussein was promised most of the Arab peninsula with the exception of "the portion of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Home, Hama and Aleppo."

During the years between the two world wars, British policy in Palestine varied somewhat. In 1937 when Arab-Jewish clashes were particularly violent, the British government offered to divide the country between the opposing groups. Neither Arabs nor Jews viewed the project favourably. In May, 1939, Great Britain issued a White Paper which is the immediate cause of the present unrest in the Holy Land. It fixed March 31st, 1944, as the date by which all Jewish immigration to Palestine must cease. Up to that date only 75,000 more Jews would be allowed to enter Palestine.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations rejected the White Paper as a contradiction of the British mandate over Palestine. The outbreak of the Second World War, however, forced the dropping of the issue and today the White Paper is still in effect. Nevertheless, Britain has permitted the present monthly quota of 1,500 immigrants to continue.

In the words of "Scholastic" for December 3rd, 1945, "The Jewish pioneers, backed by capital and modern science, have built modern cities on what used to be sand dunes, and prosperous farm colonies on newly irrigated lands. They have also built industries, universities and hospitals. The Jews claim that Arab health, education, and living standards have greatly benefited from Jewish enterprise. Arabs claim these gains result from British efforts."

Whatever the political future of Palestine may be, the immediate issue is the unrestricted admission of European Jews.

THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

Only four months after V-J Day twenty per cent of the world's population was at war again in China. The Nationalists and Communists were at war. In order to understand the origins of this feud, it is necessary to refer back to the "double-ten"—the tenth day of the tenth month in the year 1911. On that day a Chinese revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established a republic.

However, the new government lacked a strong, centralized administration. Several provincial regions were

ruled by corrupt war lords. Dr. Sun, accordingly, founded the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party of China and drafted its programme known as the "Three People's Principles"—nationalism, democracy and livelihood. But to achieve these aims, it would, of course, be necessary first to unite the country. In 1924 Dr. Sun, therefore, entrusted one of his followers, Chiang Kai-Shek, with the organization of an army to defeat the reactionary war lords. By 1928 Chiang Kai-shek's forces established a new regime for the country the capital of which was now Nanking.

In the meantime, Dr. Sun had accepted the co-operation of Communists sent to him from Moscow. These architects of world revolution so entrenched themselves in key posts in the army and the government that in 1928, three years after the death of Dr. Sun, a plot was uncovered to destroy the National Government and set up a Communist regime in China. The result was a civil war which lasted for ten years.

As the majority of the Kuomintang party was anti-Communist and loyal to Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist minority was driven into south-eastern China, principally Kiangsi province where an independent Communist regime was set up. In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek drove the Communists from this base thus forcing them to take their famous 6,000-mile "Long March" to North-west China. There they established at Yen-an a government which is entirely Chinese in origin, although strongly influenced by Communist doctrine.

However, when the Japanese invasion commenced on July 7th, 1937, both Nationalists and Communists resisted the common enemy. But, naturally, when Japan was defeated in 1945 the problem of unifying China again came up. Last August the U.S.S.R. signed a treaty with Chiang Kai-shek's National Government. Under this influence, Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader, agreed to open negotiations with the National Government. On October 11th partial agreement was announced. Both factions expressed a common desire to avoid civil war and to attain "peace, unity and democracy" in building a "new China" under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. They further agreed to call a council of all parties to discuss a constitutional congress that would end the one-party domination of the Kuomintang. All political parties would be recognized as equal. They also agree to guarantee freedom of speech and the press; to put an end to arrest and punishment by secret police; and to free political prisoners. But agreement could not be reached on two vital matters. The Communists wanted to keep control of forty-eight of their army divisions, while the National Government was only willing to see them in control of twenty. The problem of which faction was to appoint governors in several of the northern provinces also could not be solved.

The Communists hold military and political control in the four key provinces of North China—Jehol, Hopeh, Chahar

and Shantung. Most of Communist China is north of the Yellow River and separates the Nationalist area from Manchuria. It was for this reason that undeclared civil war broke out in eleven of China's twenty-eight provinces. The centre of the disturbance was naturally the rich north-eastern provinces leading into Manchuria. Russia was withdrawing from that region and both sides rushed in troops. The result was not only war but a series of repercussions in international diplomacy. Charges, difficult as yet to prove, were made to the effect that Russia had stirred up the civil conflict, that the American soldiers stationed in China were helping the Nationalists, and that the government of Chiang Kai-shek was not sincere in its expressed desire for a democratic China. All this was high-lighted by the sensational resignation of Major General Patrick Hurley as United States ambassador to China. In his letter of resignation he protested that American "career" diplomats were openly favouring the Communist government at Yen-an.

Whether Hurley's charge was true or not, his resignation inadvertently resulted in a concrete step toward Chinese national unity. General George C. Marshall, who had just retired as United States Army Chief of Staff, was immediately appointed by President Truman to replace Hurley. With the appearance of a man of Marshall's calibre on the scene as an intermediary between the disputing Chinese groups, another conference of Nationalist and of Communist leaders was readily arranged just before the close of 1945. Latest reports would indicate that definite progress will now be made in setting up a democratic Chinese government and in ending all civil strife.

In connection with the question of democracy in China, it should be pointed out that the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek is very definitely not democratic. The Kuomintang leaders, themselves, have admitted as much. Their regime, for the most part, has been a one-party dictatorship. There is strict censorship and government control of education and the press. A secret police is maintained, although a habeas corpus act was recently adopted to do away with imprisonment without trial. The peasantry are in impoverished condition and the working classes are underpaid, while inflation is reaching fantastic heights. It is reported that General Ho Ying-chin, the Nationalist Army Chief of Staff, is the largest land owner in Kweichow province.

But the situation in Yen-an is no better. Steffan Andrews in a dispatch (quoted in "Scholastic" for November 26th, 1945), from Communist-controlled Kalgan on October 11th, had this to say:

"Communism in China is essentially an application of the age-old doctrine that the end justifies the means. The Communists feel that since the program they favour is, by and

large, economically good for the down-trodden Chinese peasantry, they are justified in using any means to attain it—even suppression of the peasant's liberty.

“There is tremendous good, however, in the program to improve the living conditions of coolies and farmers . . . and to free them from some of the vicious corruption that is part of China's social fabric. . . . For the peasant they have cancelled loans, reduced interest rates, instituted a progressive tax system and divided the produce of the land more equitably by limiting the landlord's take from sharecroppers.

“But the price in terms of personal liberties that the Communists exact from these reforms is staggering. As soon as they take over a town they kill off independent thought, set up rigid press control, let loose an army of secret police, and shoot all political opponents who might even attempt to dissent . . .” The Communists “operate in a political atmosphere sodden with distrust, suspicion, and regimentation that puts every law-abiding citizen in fear of his life.

“The democracy and ‘people's’ government they set up would be considered sheer dictatorship by any American standard. . . . Freedom means only freedom to conform to the party line. If you conform, you are a democrat; if you don't, you are a traitor.”

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

As after the First World War, strikes have become a major post-war problem, especially in the United States. However, Great Britain, Canada and Australia have by no means avoided serious industrial unrest in the months after V-J Day. Broadly speaking, the causes are:

- (1) A “now-or-never” feeling among union leaders and members;
- (2) Grievances felt during war time by the workers are now being aired as the patriotic appeal to stay on the job has been removed;
- (3) The cost-of-living, notably in the United States, has gone up with the close of hostilities rather than decreased.

Commenting on the strike at Windsor, Ontario, which figured so prominently in Canadian news in the closing months of 1945, “MacLean's Magazine” stated in part in an editorial on December 15th:

“. . . All conciliators agree that the first and worst cause of trouble was ‘bad blood between the Ford Company and the union.’ Both sides share blame for this, but a primary responsibility for creating and maintaining good will is on the employer. . . .

"United Auto Workers, on their side, neither recognized nor discharged their equally grave responsibility for the observance of law.

"From the outset of the strike the union broke the law, written and unwritten. It broke the written law when it refused Ford executives their legal right to enter their own offices. It broke the unwritten law of accepted strike practice by calling out the powerhouse workers and thus endangering the maintenance of the Ford plant. It broke union law by calling out Local 195, the auto workers in other than Ford plants, after the UAW international executive had refused to sanction this strike. Finally, by seizing private automobiles to barricade the entrance to the Ford factory, it violated a fundamental right of the citizen. . . .

"The basic point in dispute at Windsor was union security, meaning the union shop and the check-off. This is an area of fundamental disagreement between employers and employees in Canada. The great majority of employers are against any formula which would compel any of their employees to become or remain union members as a condition of employment. The great majority of unions are determined to have it.

"At present no law governs or even guides a conciliator in this matter. A few years ago the same was true of union recognition—most strikes were fought to establish the right to bargain. This situation has been cleared up by legislation. . . .

"Now it seems about time for a similar definition of public policy on the issue of union security. Is the union shop justified in any circumstances? If so, in what circumstances? If not, let it be declared beyond the law.

"Unless this issue is clarified it will be the subject of labor struggles that will cost the nation millions of dollars and cause untold misery."

THE ALBERTA POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE

In the fourth issue of the Social Studies Bulletin a review of the Subcommittee's Report on Education was presented; in the fifth the usefulness of the Subcommittee's Report on Social Welfare to the teacher was outlined. Now in this issue of the Social Studies Bulletin we shall indicate the possibilities for use in Social Studies classes of three shorter reports of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee—those dealing with Agriculture, Industry, and Natural Resources of Alberta.

The Report of the Subcommittee on Agriculture.

The membership of this Subcommittee was as follows:

FRANK LAUT, M.L.A., who succeeded the late Alfred Speakman, acted as Chairman;

DR. ROBERT NEWTON, President of the University of Alberta, who has had lifelong experience in scientific agriculture as well as education, and is a member of both the National Research Council and the Research Council of Alberta;

ROBERT GARDINER, who died about the time of the completion of the Report, was a former M.P. representing a farming constituency, and, as President of the U.F.A., was known throughout the Province as a fearless advocate of the farmers' cause;

O. S. LONGMAN, B.S.A., Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who has had many years of administrative experience in various branches of the service;

H. E. NICHOLS, who replaced James Jackson, the President of the Alberta Farmers' Union, as a member of the Subcommittee.

The various sections of the report—post-war agricultural programs, co-ordination of research and experimentation, crop insurance as a means of reducing the effects of crop hazards, agricultural education, district agriculturist service, agricultural lands, land policies and tenure, planning and utilization of trees, marketing agricultural products, health of animals, soil conservation and weed control, water resources, report of the St. Mary and Milk Rivers Water Development Committee, costs of irrigation, irrigation research, and rural betterment—will be found helpful in the following units of the high school Social Studies programme:

- (a) Social Studies 1: Unit V, "Provincial and Community Problems," Unit VIII, "Employment," Unit X, "Changes in Agriculture";
- (b) Social Studies 2: Unit IX, "Provincial and Community Problems."

Last September the Survey Management Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee published its "Report of the Survey of Agricultural Plans and Intentions." The material in this second appendix to the Report of the Subcommittee on Industry will be found very useful for all of the above units. It may be had free of charge from either the Post-War Reconstruction Committee or the Department of Economic Affairs in the Parliament Buildings.

The Report of the Subcommittee on Industry.

The membership of this Subcommittee was as follows:

HON. C. E. GERHART, who succeeded the Hon. E. C. Manning as Minister of Trade and Industry, was Chairman;

CARL BERG, who is a well known labour leader and an official of both the Alberta Federation of Labour and the Edmonton Trades and Labour Council;

W. D. KING, the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry;

HOWARD STUTCHBURY, who represented Alberta Industry on the Subcommittee, is a past president of the Alberta Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

The various sections of the Report—present industries, conversion of war industries, establishment of new industries, markets and inter-provincial trade, industrial electrification, tourist industry, stabilization of industrial employment, collective bargaining and labor-management relations, wages and working conditions, training for industrial employment—will be found helpful in the following units of the high school Social Studies programme:

- (a) Social Studies 1: Unit V, "Provincial and Community Problems," Unit VIII, "Employment";
- (b) Social Studies 2: Unit IX, "Provincial and Community Problems";
- (c) Social Studies 3: Unit IV, Section C, Division 3 (b).

It should also be noted that Appendix I ("Tourism in Alberta") to the Report of the Subcommittee on Industry has been published. This pamphlet of eleven pages, which deals more comprehensively with the subject of post-war tourist travel in relation to Alberta than does the Report on Industry, will be found useful for all of the above units. It may be had free of charge from either the Post-War Reconstruction Committee or the Department of Economic Affairs in the Parliament Buildings.

The Report of the Subcommittee on Natural Resources.

The membership of the Subcommittee was as follows:

HON. N. E. TANNER, who acted as Chairman, is Minister of Lands and Mines;

H. E. TANNER, M.A., who was also the representative of all ex-servicemen's organizations on the Committee, is a well-known science teacher in the City of Edmonton High Schools;

C. STUBBS, of Calgary, is Secretary of the Western Canadian Bituminous Coal Operators' Association;

H. R. MILNER, K.C., is President of Northwestern Utilities Limited;

ALEX GREIG, who replaced William Anderson, is connected with the lumber firm of Anderson and Greig.

The various sections of the Report—oil, natural gas, bituminous sands, salt, coal, other minerals, forests, water-sheds, lands, fish, fur bearing animals, game birds, surveys, recommendations—will be found helpful in the following units of the high school Social Studies programme:

- (a) Social Studies 1: Unit V, "Provincial and Community Problems"; Unit VI, "Economic Geography of Canada";
- (b) Social Studies 2: Unit IX, "Provincial and Community Problems."

"YOUR OPPORTUNITY IN ALBERTA"

This is the title of an illustrated booklet about our Province recently published by the Government Publicity Bureau. The many maps, illustrations and charts, as well as the printed commentary, deal with Alberta's geography, agriculture, natural resources, transportation, power, industry (including industrial relations) and plans for the post-war period. The publication is not only an excellent supplement to the Alberta Post-War Reconstruction Committee Reports reviewed above, but will be particularly useful in the following sections of the Intermediate and high school Social Studies Programmes:

Intermediate Social Studies: Problem VII of Section B, "Our Own Province";

Social Studies 1:

- Unit V, "Provincial and Community Problems";
- Unit VI, "Economic Geography of Canada";
- Unit VII, "Employment";
- Unit IX, "Social Security" (Provincial Social Legislation);

Social Studies 2:

- Unit IX, "Provincial and Community Problems";

Social Studies 3:

- Unit IV, "Canada in the Post-War World." Section C, Division 3 (Employment); Section D (Social Security).

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